[626 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 629 cont.] the threshing floor and jump over them. It is said that this is done in order to become pure; others say it is only for fun. The Chinese there, who also have this custom, maintain that it is an old Chinese practice. They also tell a legend about it, which I have forgotten. It has something to do with a battle ruse of old heroes whose memory one wants to celebrate. -- For the purificatory fire, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 9.

[177]

It is precisely in the New Year's practices that the strong mixture with Chinese customs appears, so that in individual instances it is impossible to say definitely what originally belonged to the Tujen. One can safely ascribe to them, however, the ying-hsi ceremony, renewal of the animal consecration, and above all the dancing and singing of songs, which the Chinese do not know.

[821]

The dances with song point to a close connection with the waxing moon, since they are usually performed at night on the fifteenth day, even throughout the night. It is almost as though the New Year's festival applies primarily to the new moon. After the first full moon, everything is quite suddenly broken off.

Once the incense ceremony is over, the master of the household places a table in the yard before the round manger. On it are put trays with five steamed loaves, five oil-loaves, three tagur loaves, and all kinds of baked goods (3) [see Note 3 above]. Then a bowl of barley wine is poured out and a

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 791 [217] The seed-master places these wedges on the table before the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward. [788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 789 791 782 [821] [823] The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set, the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer. Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 789 778 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[828 cont.]

241 789 791 782 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 789 776 825 821 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The goat has special protective power because its head serves as an anvil for the god Dăntsien Sañ. He is the smith in the weather ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

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5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsañ (Dăntsien Sañ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

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[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.] him in the monastery Rgulõn and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Däntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct,as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]
241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune befalls the seed and human beings (6).

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6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778]
Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

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The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

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The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons.

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The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged

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magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed

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to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

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The pole-goat: aradziañ (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rĕdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

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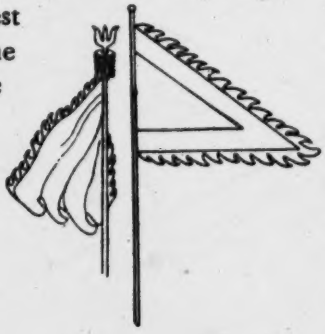
The goat: ima; chŭ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[837 cont.]

241 782 533 There are no rules about the musical instruments. [Illustration appears here.] Whatever one has is taken along. The temple drum -- a barrel drum with a drumhead on both sides -- and the conch are always certain to be there. The drum is not very large and is carried on a belt in front of the chest so that it can be beaten on both sides. The conch shell is the same as that used at the incense offering. The trumpets are the [177] ordinary Chinese shawms (la-pa); the cymbals and the gong are also Chinese.



Flags such as are carried during the procession around the field. (Drawing of a Tujen.)

241 782 Among the flags there are black, red, yellow, etc. Usually they are provided with colorful borders. There are also flags with pictures, for example, of the mountain-spirit. Many flags also have Chinese sayings sewed on them, usually in white. There are [532] no special Tujen names for the flags. The number is arbitrary.

Aside from the usual cypress incense the Chinese incense sticks are also popularly taken along; butter, water, tea, etc. are just as desirable as at other incense offerings. More recently yellow paper [177] is also burned in Chinese fashion.

The soothsayers must always carry along their soothsaying tokens, that is, the objects that are the seat of the spirit, in other words, [778] [791] spear, litter, table, etc. During the entire procession, the spirit remains in the object concerned, which is signified by the shaking and rattling of the bells and the movement of the bearers.

241 782 787 Soothsaying: At the soothsaying one tries to learn as precisely as possible when and where the heaviest hail will come down and how one should protect himself against it, whether by means of offerings or prayer or the mani-tree, and the like. At this time the [821] seed-master makes a brief speech to the spirit concerned, charging him with the duties that he must fulfill for a good harvest and telling him that he will be rewarded for his protection by an offering (4).

241 782 4. [Foreign text p. 838.] An offering is usually connected with the

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gurtum-shamans will go into the ideology underlying the whole (god of life, god of war, god of wealth, Pekar, tree of life, arrow of good fortune, spear, ancestral tablets, etc.); cf. also below, pp. 363-388.

[773] [211] The origin of the world is unfortunately recorded only in scanty documents. According to the Geser legend and the aphoristic wisdom of the people, the earth arose through a churning in the water like butter (cream) in milk. It floats on top and is held by a wooden post which one day will start to grow and develop leaves. Then the earth will tip over and bring on the end of the world. The physical sky floats over the earth on a golden peg (nail); in this connection, cf. DMF, p. 115 and p. 445. Here there are conceptions that at first glance contradict those described above, but they can nevertheless be connected with them indirectly. They are recently elaborated [171] variants from Indian cosmology (churning with the world-column; turtle as earth-bearer) and are linked with Mongolic peculiarities (heavenly bell on a golden nail); in this connection, cf. W. Lüdtke, Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans [The Veneration of Genghis Khan]. Concerning the polar star as beacon, see further below, p. 883. Over against the earth with the wooden peg (modë ġadasë) stands heaven with the golden peg (xaldan ġadasë). Among the Tujen, however, the polar star is called [821] xaldan ġadasë: xaldan because of its shining color; ġadasë because of its similarity to a nail head. Actually ġadasë means post, peg, nail, tack. The polar star, to be sure, is otherwise conceived as the axle of the sky. Thus, the greening world-tree (earth-wood) and sky-axle (star-gold) correspond with each other. Here, too, the comparison of two parts of the world that are supposed to correspond is suggested: the sky above, the earth below. The conception of the tilting and finally falling earth may go back to the observation that the polar star, the sky-axle, is not in the zenith, but in the north. The way the [533] world-tree and stars belong together is poetically rendered in

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rëġuo and tieńgëre. The word rëġuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rëġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rëġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] [539] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to

[218 cont.]
772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuguo
192 rĕguoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
825 light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rĕguo has
539 been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rĕguo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rĕguo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgĕre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgĕre

772 tieńgĕre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
192 heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
821 adjectives as the word rĕguo, in other words, with kuguo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuguo tieńgĕre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the word rëguo that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word tiengëre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they, along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are, after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between the name tiengëre and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, Religionsgeschichte [History of Religion], p. 256, UdG, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name tiengëre used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (op. cit., p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development Tengri meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, Tengri was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic Deva, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[229 cont.]

174 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen
776 Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk (silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley filling). Something similar applies to the etügen, which, as a female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and "silk-faced." (Cf. N. N. Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften [Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI; statement according to W. A. Unkrig.) Further indications of the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the
●[821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space, the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The moun-
[823] tain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures, the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he continues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made independent, as P. W. Schmidt assumes for similar cases among other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 After the preceding discussions, the further characteris-
782 tics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning this knowledge the informant gave the following information (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle.

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine.

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits.

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms.

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic: the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers [11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1:* 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit., Lokalkulturen, Fuchs* 1: 40.

[p. 103(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

be purified by smoking over cypress boughs, and a sacrifice of a sheep or a hog is required. Every three years the stomach is opened and the decayed animating items are removed. New ones must take their place, because after three years their power has faded away. The Monguors invite the shaman most proficient in this art to perform the rite, since magical efficacy does not seem to be the same among all shamans and for that reason statues are assumed to be the seats of the spirits. 778 532 756

The statues in Lamaist temples need, in the same way, magical bowels; however, the lamas put Tibetan texts inside the statues. The magical power of the statues lasts as long as the Tibetan texts are uninjured.

The role played by the snake in the therapy of debilitated spirits is noteworthy. It will be seen later that the old mountain spirit of the Obo, protector and proprietor of the valley of Sha-t'ang, was healed and rejuvenated by a lot of medicines, among which the snake ranked first.

The table often mentioned above is said to be the seat of the White Tiger, and is used everywhere. It is a low Chinese table, adorned with strips of red cloth or silk and a small copper mirror in front. The four legs represent the legs of the tiger, while on the underpart of the table are painted the intestines and genitalia. It must be animated by the shaman. Often used instead of the sedan chair, it is carried by four men whom it crushes beneath it, or pulls fore or aft when asked for a decision.

CONCLUSION

This chapter gives supporting evidence for the assumption that in the fabric of the religious life of the Monguors, the struggle against the hail spirits and the means of avoiding harm from them are a real obsession and play an overwhelming part. All summer this fear troubles the peace of mind, and mars the happiness especially of older people and chiefs of families. No wonder that every day around noon Monguors start examining the northwest corner of the sky. Everybody, putting on a brave front, brags and boasts about the efficacy of the rites, trying to bolster their wavering courage, but telling beads and muttering "Om Mani," hoping that finally Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" will help them. 821 829 771

Another conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the shamanist White Tiger bears the brunt of the struggle against the evil spirits of hail, and that the Taoist god of the Five Roads and his associates who are magnificiently enthroned in all the village temples, on whose walls they score brilliant successes defeating the evil hail spirits, play a very modest secondary role in the rank and file of the other good spirits and Buddhist deities supposed to lend a hand in the struggle. The Monguors have remained as convinced shamanists as the Turco-Mongol tribes of former times.

The struggle against the hail spirits by an entire com-

[p. 104 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

munity, obeying day and night the orders of the chief of the village, pooling all its efforts and putting them at his disposition, reveals the old clan spirit of nomads united in the struggle against forces from abroad; it reveals that the entire community resorts unanimously to religious practices in order to preserve its means of subsistence and that religion in time of fear and distress is a means of securing the cohesion of the group. The civil and religious authority vested in the same chief make religion a constituent of the social organization. This note will be brought out several times further on, in the study of the religious life of the Monguors.[18]

X. VARIOUS PUBLIC RITES

PUBLIC RITES ON NEW YEAR'S

At midnight on New Year's the bell of the temple of the village rings. A group of villagers, comprised of a member of each family, led by the chief of the village, the military commanders and the elders, arrive to honor "Heaven and all the spirits" in the courtyard of the temple. by lighting a big cypress fire, offering steamed bread, raisins, and butter, pouring a libation of wine, and prostrating themselves holding incense sticks in their hands. The chief of the village says: "Heaven and all the spirits, we thank you for all the blessings of the past year, bless us during this New Year, give us good crops, and guard us from hail." Then they return home in order to perform the traditional family rites of New Year's.

On the third, as already noted, the chief of the village, the elders, and a member of each family go to the temple of the village in order to learn the prophecy of the sedan chair or table god, about the events of the New Year. In villages where there is a Kurtain possessed by the spirit of the temple, he is invited for an exhibition, which is attended by the whole community. This New Year's exhibition is the only public office discharged by the Kurtain in the community. After the exhibition there follows the Rite of the Sacred Animal.

During the first month of the New Year, in the villages where there is a temple dedicated to a Lamaist deity, some lamas are usually invited by the community to say prayers for three to seven days, for the peace of the villagers.

[18] Potanin, *op. cit.*, 397-399 *sqq.*, describes accurately the interesting elaborate rite performed by shamans, enthroning a new image of a Taoist deity (the dragon king), as the new family protector in a Mongnor family (probably at the moment of the division of the family inheritance). The performance is a blend of shamanist and Taoist rites. The opening of the eyes of the image and its animation, etc., are performed in the genuine Taoist fashion. The shamanism of this group of Monguors seems to be more adulterated than that of the Monguors living on the northern side of the Hsining River; the deities they honor are all Taoist deities.

[p.105 (A)]